5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

that belongs to us, our occupation should be limited to those parts necessary for assuring the suppression of brigandage, the freedom of trade and the tranquillity of an industrious population.

The land cultivated by them will provide produce which will become the object of lucrative trade for the European, the only kind of work he can undertake in this climate.

By 1865 the colony of Senegal comprised 150,000 inhabitants of whom only some 15,000, living in the original French settlements of St. Louis and Gorée-Dakar, were French citizens. Indeed this number was not to increase noticeably until the end of the century, since the privileges granted to those Africans under French rule in 1848 were never extended to the interior. For whilst Faidherbe pursued a policy of assimilation in the main centres like St. Louis, Gorée and Dakar, he initiated the basis of a system of administration for what was to become the rest of modern Senegal and French black Africa as a whole that was distinctly non-assimilationist. The laws for the *sujets* or those who did not enjoy the rights of French citizens were particularly harsh. They were not allowed to leave the colony, they had no right of meeting or association, and they were subjected to the corvée or forced labour on the maintenance of roads. To obtain this forced labour Faidherbe relied on the chiefs, and indeed one of the main criticisms of him as an exponent of assimilationism is that he leaned so heavily on both the chiefs and Islam. The treaty made by Jauréguiberry (acting-Governor whilst Faidherbe was on leave in 1865) with Abdoul Boubaker of Toro was far removed from the principles of assimilation: 'Art. 2—The Toro will continue to administer itself according to its own laws, traditions and customs.'

The overthrow of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870 was to see lukewarm reaffirmation of principles of the revolution and a consequent return to assimilationist principles at least in the political field. In 1871 Senegal regained her deputy. More

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

Africans. Indeed only very small scale trading is in the hands of Africans, otherwise large scale commercial enterprises are run by Europeans, and most of their managerial staff being European. Between these large scale organisations, the whole range of middleman trade is dominated by Lebanese and the so-called *petit blancs*. Small shopkeeping is predominantly in the hands of the Mauritanians, though larger shops particularly in Dakar, are run by Lebanese and Europeans. At first sight this would seem to be an unhealthy situation, and it would be foolish to ignore the inherent dangers in it. But the most ardent critics of this state of affairs are as often as not visiting Africans, not the Senegalese themselves. When a Nigerian shops in Printania or goes to the local bank in Dakar, he is shocked by the number of Frenchwomen employed in jobs he is accustomed to seeing held by Africans in Lagos. But in considering the rather special case of Dakar one must take into account a number of factors that are often overlooked by would-be critics.

Senegal is a territory of only 3,100,000 people and in the normal run of education in French-speaking African states, even taking into account Senegal's special position among them, the percentage of the population available to fill managerial and sub-managerial posts or indeed any 'European-style' job in all sectors of the economy, can hardly match up to the requirements of the most highly industrialised city in West Africa. In addition Dakar has a large international airport and a port that was the third largest in the French Union. It is also the centre of government for Senegal and the terminus of a railway. It is not surprising therefore that Senegal finds it more difficult to find the appropriate number of Africans to fill its senior posts in commerce and industry than Lagos which has a Nigerian population of over 36 million to draw on. Furthermore Lagos is in the centre of an area where missionaries have been active for over a hundred years and consequently

114 /665/ The study of demography in the countries of Black Africa has made great progress in recent years. Nevertheless, it has often had to be limited to monographs because of the diversity of the ethnic groups and the lack of census statistics.

Among the questions to be studied is that of consanguinity, often in these regions and sometimes responsible for demographic stagnation and an unhealthy condition. It is in this direction that the activity of Dr. Cantrelle of the Institut français d'Afrique noire /French Institute of Black Africa/ is oriented. The high degree of endogamy among the populations that he has studied is given particular attention. The results presented here deal with the Senegalese Fouta and are to be followed by more complete data pertaining to the Fouta Djallon.

Introduction

133 The Senegal River separates the republic of Senegal from that of Mauritania. Its central valley, running from east to west, between Dembakané upstream and Dagana downstream, constitutes a region defined by history and geography, the Fouta Toro. This is a long alluvial strip more than 400 kilometers long by ten kilometers wide on the average, hemmed in by two semi-arid regions, the Mauritanian Sahara on the north and the Ferlo of Senegal on the south (Map No. 1). In contrast
● 161 to these two regions, in which lives a population of nomadic shepherds, very low in density, the fertile valley has a concentration of farmers, fishermen, and livestock-raisers, with a relatively great density of about 20 inhabitants per square kilometer downstream, 35 near the center, and reaching 50 upstream.

143 Like most of the large valleys, it is a zone of passage which in the course of previous centuries has mixed together populations of varied origin, and one can assume that this region of homogeneous appearance, and where Islam is the sole religion, has created conditions favorable to panmixia (1).

1. Panmixia: assemblage of hypotheses

/18 cont./ 369x
the Lebano-Syrians at least 2%. Let us consider in this brief 563
glance only the problem of the relations between Africans and [162]
Europeans.

a) The increase in the number of Europeans -- which [161]
has increased at least sixfold since 1939, while the African popu-
lation has undoubtedly not even tripled -- has been accompanied [463]
by qualitative changes: development of the categories of tech-
nicians, workers, artisans, petty employees, petty merchants.
This population, despite the sense of a strong solidarity (which
is admitted in time of crisis) vis-à-vis the African population, [565]
has seen a division /19/into classes inherited from the society
of origin become marked. At the same time, the European
community has withdrawn into itself, developing its own ser-
vices (specialized merchants, etc.).

b) The evolution of habitat zones reflects these trans- 369x
formations. The close checkerwork of the original plan of 563
Pinet-Laprade still encompasses multi-racial quarters (where 361
the Lebano-Syrians have taken a greater and greater place).
But, in the course of the development of the town, the Médina,
almost exclusively African (1), has been added to them in the

1. Some Europeans live there, however; the general housing crisis largely accounts for this. [362]

north, while purely European residential quarters developed in the south. The recent zones set up on the other side of the Médina for the residences of functionaries likewise allow for little mixing. Finally, with the reconstruction of new buildings, the European town, starting from the southern zone, gained on the mixed quarters, and a movement toward a clearer segregation of the habitat zones is taking shape, segregation which is in no way official, but which is considered desirable by the majority of the European population (2) and is based in

2. Differences in way of life,

/90 cont./

369 563 [161] As one may well imagine, the most populated zones are the ones located near the railroad workshops; Derrière-la-voie-ferrée, Randoulène, and Bambara have densities from 102 to 125 inhabitants per hectare (14). These quarters are

14. In French Equatorial Africa, in the quarters of Brazzaville (Poto-Poto and Bacongo), it reaches 100 inhabitants per hectare. Information taken from Documents and Statistics, Ministry of the F.O.M., No. XI, March 1954, p. 25.

at the same time the places of the most complete intermingling; almost 40% of the population is made up of elements foreign to the region of Thiès where Wolof and Sérère live.

We quote these figures, of course, in order to pose the problem of contacts between the various ethnic groups and of the relations between individuals.

369 563 573 Nevertheless, we should set apart the Moor group, whose conduct clearly differs from that of its colored neighbors. The Moors do not have any relations with the Blacks, except for purely commercial reasons. They meet only among themselves, travel only accompanied by one of their fellows. Their sobriety, their sense of thrift (often carried to excess), and their frigid calm estrange them from the often expansive temperament of the Blacks. Perhaps a certain feeling of superiority toward the population which they dominated before our arrival is the origin of this profound gap between people of identical material circumstances.

369 563 /91/ The Black masses seem at first estimate to form a homogeneous whole. Nevertheless, among the elements which compose it there exist traditional distinctions of customary, ethnic, and religious origin, and social distinc- [182] tions linked to recent structures: a new hierarchy in the

/91 cont./

369 families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse
177 of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and
563 Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the
[584] too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of
[593] ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/
[182] urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but with less force and with a certain delay.

369 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger,
565 on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a
178 working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon. Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human contacts, that of social class is little by little being substituted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is al-
[177] ready being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid
467 diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of
474 workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of the members of this worker group, the workshops of the Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès itself have become the most active and the busiest centers
[468] of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the influence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical urban phenomenon.

369 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social
563 climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites
578 and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automatically disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 A much more important problem that seems general
161 in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have
[162] seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants). Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same proportions.

/1/

125 During the years 1960 and 1961, a demographic investigation by sampling was undertaken over the whole territory, the first one in the history of Senegal. (Administrative counts, city censuses, and an investigation in the central valley of the river /Senegal River/ had been made previously, but never a demographic inquiry covering the whole territory.)

[369] The country has been divided into two large parts: the urban
[162] zone, composed of the whole region of Cape Verde and the cities of Thiès, Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Diourbel, and Louga; and the rural zone, which includes the rest of the territory. The sampling fraction was 1/50 in the rural zone and 1/20 in the urban zone. Subsequently a sampling to the twentieth was obtained by dividing into two a certain number of maps of the rural zone.

It will be seen merely from the method utilized that it renders illusory the study of small groups /groupes à effectif réduit/. It should be acknowledged from the first that the numbers below 500 (that is, 25 in the sample) are not significant.

II - The Structures:

III - The geographic distribution:

114 The operations in the field begun in the month of April 1960 were terminated in the month of August 1961 (April-June '60 for the rural zone, July '60 to August '61 /2/ for the urban
162 zone). It should be acknowledged that on the whole the numbers indicated below correspond to the situation on the date of 1 July 1960. (Table 1 on following page)

This table shows, on the one hand, the low average density and, on the other hand, its great variability.

[563] The non-African population is made up essentially of French and Lebano-Syrians. It is heavily concentrated in the urban zone and particularly in Cape Verde: 74% of the non-Africans of Senegal
161 are actually in residence there. Moreover, this concentration has
648 become accentuated in recent years for several reasons: the departure of the Senegalese and Mauritanian governments from Saint-Louis; the closing of a number of agencies in the interior following the change in the commercial circuits.

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162
[563]

Table 3 - Population of the Cities of the Urban Zone (1)

City	Africans	Non-Africans	Total
Dakar	336,580	38,120	374,700
Kaolack	68,160	1,400	69,560
Thiès	66,940	2,200	69,140
Rufisque-Bargny	48,280	1,380	49,660
Saint-Louis	47,700	1,140	48,840
Ziguinchor	29,520	340	29,840
Diourbel	27,820	740	28,560
Louga	16,120	160	16,280

1. The total population of these cities does not correspond exactly to the population of the urban zone given below, because all of the region of Cape Verde, including the cantons of Sangalkam and Sébikotane, has been included in the urban zone.

/5 cont./ it is necessary to take note of the fact that Dakar has been in existence scarcely more than 75 years. Its rate of growth, remarkably stable since 1890, stays at between 6% and 7% per year. At this rate, Dakar will have 1,275,000 inhabitants in 20 years and will contain a quarter of the inhabitants of Senegal.

[161]

The rural population is about 2,390,000 inhabitants distributed in 13,000 communes or villages. The average population of a village is thus less than 200 inhabitants. This fact is not unimportant, because this great dispersion increases the "general expenses" of the nation, if one can use this term. It is obvious that instruction in schools, for example, is more costly when settlements are dispersed, whether the classes have an attendance lower than is normal or whether it is necessary to arrange for collecting the students. There is thus reason for encouraging regroupings as much as possible.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

[395]

CHAPTER VIII

SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

1. GENERAL

Senegal. Area: 77,220 square miles. Population (1937): 1,666,374. Density per square mile: 21·58. Capital: St. Louis.
District of Dakar. Area: 66 square miles. Population (1937): 126,929. Density per square mile: 1,923·16. Headquarters: Dakar.

ALTHOUGH it has fewer inhabitants than most of the other colonies and a lower density of population than Dahomey or the Ivory Coast, Senegal is the most important of all the members of the Federation. Much of the colony is semi-desert, but the remainder is closely settled by some of the most vigorous and progressive peoples of French West Africa. Most of the native citizens are Senegalese, and the fame of the tirailleurs is known in every land. The colony contains some of the earliest French settlements, and its honourable position is attested by the fact that it alone in the Federation sends a direct representative to the Chamber of Deputies at Paris.

The full title of the District of Dakar is the *Circonscription de Dakar et Dépendences*. Besides the town of Dakar it includes Goree, Rufisque, the territory round them, and a few small enclaves inside Senegal. One of these enclaves is at Sebikotane, where is situated the William Ponty School. The District has been a separate political entity since 1924, and its Administrator is not responsible to the Governor of Senegal.

The British colony of the Gambia has all its land frontiers with Senegal.

The greatest distance from north to south in Senegal is 249 miles, and the greatest from west to east is 365 miles. The colony extends from 12° 19′ N. to 16° 42′ N. and from 17° 20′ W. to 11° 20′ W. The extreme west of the Cape Verde peninsula is 17° 32′ W.

Boundaries. The Atlantic Ocean forms the main western boundary. The only exceptions to this are the frontier with the Gambia and the boundary between Senegal and Dakar. The latter leaves the coast at 14° 49′ N. and runs roughly south-south-east until it is 2 miles from Goree bay. There it turns east and afterwards south to strike the bay 1 mile east of Rufisque.

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

with which the Society of the Holy Spirit was united in 1848. About the same time a house of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception (the Blue Sisters) was established at Dakar, which has been the Roman Catholic metropolis of French West Africa ever since.

In 1906, on the separation of Church and State in France, the government subsidies to the Roman Catholic missions were withdrawn. In 1930 the Roman Catholics in Senegal had 67 European priests, sisters, and lay workers aided by 175 native catechists and teachers. Professing Roman Catholics numbered 22,300. A magnificent cathedral, the work of many years, was consecrated at Dakar in 1936.

The only Protestant mission in Senegal is that of the Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris, which began work in the colony in 1863. Its adherents number about a hundred.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AND INLAND TOWNS

Distribution of Population

Senegal

Senegal is the third most densely populated colony, with an average of 21·58 persons per square mile and a total population in 1937 of 1,666,374. The distribution, however, varies greatly within the colony itself. The regions of Fouta and Ferlo are almost uninhabitable, while the provinces of Baol, Sine-Saloum, and Thiès have more than 50 persons per square mile. The coastal provinces of Bignona and Ziguinchor, south of the Gambia, are equally closely settled. The left bank of the Senegal, roughly from Bakel to Podor, supports a fairly dense agricultural population.

Growth has been steady, the figures for 1921, 1926, and 1931 being 1,225,523, 1,318,287, and 1,584,273 respectively. There is no doubt that the colony is capable of supporting many more inhabitants than it does at present.

Natives. More than 580,000 Ouolofs live in Senegal. These are among the most energetic and intelligent peoples of the Federation, and they provide the bulk of the famous Senegalese Tirailleurs. There are about 250,000 each of Sérères, Mandingos, and Fulani, and 150,000 Toucouleur. Broadly speaking, the Ouolofs live north and east of Dakar, the Sérères south-east thereof, the Toucouleur

/99 cont./

S 162 Population. As we have just seen in this brief historical account, the principal native races occupying the region are: the Sérère, the Socé or Mandingue, the Toucouleur, and the Peuhl.

The population is distributed as follows:

Ouoloff	105,000	inhabitants
Sérère	85,000	"
Mandingue or Socé	50,000	"
Peuhl	10,000	"
Foreigners and miscellaneous	15,000	"
Total	280,000	inhabitants

S [161] In 15 years, the population, which in 1913 numbered 180,000 natives, increased by more than a third. This result is due, not only to the birth rate, but also and above all to the immigrants from neighboring countries (Upper Gambia, Sudan, Guinea, Casamance), who are attracted by the economic development of the region.

S 791 SR [771] Religion. Fetishism is losing ground to the benefit of Islamism. This religion is predominant at present. Only the Sérère still preserves his ancestral customs, but he is attracted to the religion of Islam. Three Moslem sects are represented: the Tidjania, the Kadria, and the Murids.

S [795] Muridism, a new religious sect which has as prophet the venerated marabout, the late Serigne Bamba, has its great mosque at N'Diourbel in Baol.

/100/ The Moslem populations are the Ouoloff, the Toucouleur, and a part of the Socé.

SR [771] The fetishism of the Sérère is a naturistic cult.

SR 105 [611] The customs are derived from the matriarchy. It is a regime of castes. Paternal authority is preserved intact in the family, with, however, respect for the mother and certain prerogatives of the maternal line, notably in the matter of succession. The captive, formerly, was treated gently by his

/104 cont./

743 Medical aid. Medical aid and the struggle against epidemics are assured by the dispensaries set up at Kaolack and Fatick, each directed by a European doctor.

[759] The latter have under their orders native doctors and midwives residing in the chief town or distributed at the medical posts.

[652] The commune of Kaolack also has a municipal dispensary under the direction of a European doctor who is paid out of the funds of the communal budget.

744 Urban hygienic services likewise exist in the principal agglomerations of the circle, especially at Kaolack, Fatick, Foundiougne, Gossas, and Kaffrine.

Anti-variolic vaccination is practiced in even the smallest villages.

III. Economic Development

162 Labor force. The population of the circle is 28,000 natives and 1,300 Europeans and assimilated individuals.

● 161 The population density is thus 10.8 inhabitants per square kilometer, a proportion higher than the average for the whole of French West Africa, which does not amount to three inhabitants per square kilometer.

464 An employment office operates in the circle.

This does not prevent /Pl. 1 appears here/ /105/ serious difficulties in the recruitment of the labor force. The latter is unstable and inexperienced. Wages are not high at all,

465 especially in the cities.

At the time of the loading of the ships in the port of Kaolack, the wages of the workers sometimes climb to 15 and 20 francs per day. They are set on the average at 12 francs.

In some European operations, as at Latmingué, the agricultural workers have a daily wage of eight francs and in addition receive a ration of rice.